

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W  
-----076231 180403Z /15  
O 171949Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7811

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 6116

NODIS

FOR ATHERTON FROM LEWIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT AUGUST 11  
REPEATED FOR YOUR ACTION

HEREWITH FOLLOWS PORTION OF TEL AVIV 5958 DEALING WITH BEGIN/  
DAYAN CONVERSATION WITH SECRETARY AS REQUESTED IN MCKUNE-GLASPIE  
PHONE CONVERSATION AUG 17.

QUOTE  
S E C R E T TEL AVIV 5958

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM LEWIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)  
SUBJECT: DRAFT MESSAGE ON YOUR PRIVATE MEETING WITH  
BEGIN AND DAYAN, AUGUST 10

1. FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT MESSAGE FROM YOU TO THE ACTING  
SECRETARY AND THE WHITE HOUSE ON THE RESTRICTED BEGIN/  
DAYAN MEETING YESTERDAY WHICH YOU ASKED ME TO PREPARE.  
YOU SAID YOU WOULD ALSO ADD TO IT ADDITIONAL MATERIAL  
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FROM YOUR PRIVATE TETE-A-TETE WITH BEGIN LAST NIGHT AND  
FROM YOUR DINNER DISCUSSION WITH DAYAN.

2. BEGIN DRAFT TEXT:

3. IN VIEW OF THE LARGE GROUP PARTICIPATING IN THE  
MEETINGS WITH THE ISRAELIS, PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND I

AGREED TO MEET WITH ONLY FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN AND AMBASSADOR LEWIS TO GO FURTHER INTO QUESTIONS OF SOUTH LEBANON AND FUTURE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS POLICY. THIS MEETING TOOK PLACE IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE FINAL GENERAL SESSION IN LATE MORNING AUGUST 10.

4. SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES:  
BEGIN BEGAN BY REVIEWING THE "MISUNDERSTANDING" BETWEEN US OVER THE LEGALIZATION OF THREE EXISTING SETTLEMENTS, STRESSING WITH ALL APPARENT SINCERITY THAT HE HONESTLY HAD NO IDEA THIS KIND OF "ROUTINE ACTION" WOULD HAVE BEEN VIEWED SO ADVERSELY BY THE U.S. HE REFERRED TO HIS EARLIER PROPOSAL THAT "WE HAVE AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN US ON ANY SUCH CASES TO EXPLORE THEM INITIALLY THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, EITHER AMBASSADOR LEWIS OR AMBASSADOR DINITZ, IN ORDER TO AVOID SUCH MISUNDERSTANDINGS." I CAREFULLY RECOUNTED THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WASHINGTON SURROUNDING THIS INCIDENT AND MADE CLEAR THAT WE HAD INDEED WAITED UNTIL AMBASSADOR DINITZ HAD CONFIRMED FOR US THE FACTS BEFORE MAKING ANY PUBLIC STATEMENT. I WENT ON TO UNDERSCORE OUR BELIEF THAT THE WHOLE QUESTION OF SETTLEMENTS IS A TERRIBLY SENSITIVE PROBLEM, ESPECIALLY AT THIS POINT IN OUR EFFORTS TO MOVE TOWARD GENEVA. I SAID THAT WE SINCERELY HOPED HE WOULD NOT APPROVE ANY NEW SETTLEMENTS FOR THIS REASON.

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5. BEGIN THEN ASKED DAYAN TO TELL ME WHAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARD NEW SETTLEMENTS WOULD BE. DAYAN SAID "WE CANNOT STOP SETTLEMENTS ALTOGETHER, OR EVEN SUSPEND NEW SETTLEMENTS FOR ANY SUBSTANTIAL PERIOD OF TIME. SUCH AN EFFORT WOULD NOT BE SUSTAINABLE, JUST AS THE BRITISH EFFORT TO LIMIT OR SUSPEND IMMIGRATION INTO ISRAEL DURING THE MANDATE PERIOD NEVER PROVED ENFORCEABLE OR SUSTAINABLE. HOWEVER, RECOGNIZING THE SENSITIVITY OF THE PROBLEM, WHAT WE HAVE IN MIND IS TO LIMIT NEW SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY DURING 'THE NEXT FEW MONTHS' TO ABOUT SIX TO EIGHT LOCATIONS, ALL ON LAND ENCOMPASSED IN EXISTING MILITARY BASE AREAS, ON GOVERNMENT-OWNED LAND CURRENTLY UNDER MILITARY CONTROL. APPROXIMATELY 40-50 CIVILIAN FAMILIES WOULD BE PERMITTED TO SETTLE IN SUCH AREAS; NO ACQUISITION OF NEW LAND WOULD BE INVOLVED, AND CERTAINLY NO ARABS WOULD BE IN ANY WAY DISPLACED. ALL THESE NEW SETTLEMENTS WOULD BE WITHIN 25 KILOMETERS OF THE 'GREEN LINES.' TWO WOULD BE IN THE AREA NEAR JERUSALEM." (THIS IS OBVIOUSLY EXACTLY THE SAME FORMULA WHICH DAYAN HAD

EARLIER OUTLINED ON JULY 24 11 SEE TEL AVIV 5442.)  
IN RESPONSE TO A LATER QUERY BY LEWIS, DAYAN ACKNOWLEDGED THAT EVEN UNDER HIS CRITERIA SOME OF THE SETTLEMENTS WOULD BE CLOSE TO THE CENTER OF THE WEST BANK, BUT HE INSISTED THAT NONE WOULD BE CLOSE TO HEAVILY POPULATED AREAS.

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ACTION NODS-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7812

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TEL AVIV 6116

NODIS

FOR ATHERTON FROM LEWIS

6. I RESPONDED THAT WE OBVIOUSLY HAD A CONTINUING DIFFERENT INTERPRETATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL SITUATION, AS HAD BEEN CLEARLY SPELLED OUT IN THE LARGER MEETING JUST PRECEDING THIS ONE. I SAID THAT IT IS THE MOVING OF CIVILIANS INTO MILITARY CAMPS WHICH RAISES THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL PROBLEM IN OUR VIEW, SINCE UNDER THE GENEVA CONVENTION THE STATIONING OF MILITARY FORCES IN AN OCCUPIED TERRITORY IS PERMISSIBLE. I PRESSED THE QUESTION: "WHY IS IT NECESSARY?" IN RESPONSE, BEGIN ESSENTIALLY RESTATED THE HISTORIC ARGUMENTS WHICH HE MADE IN WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENT WHEN THIS SUBJECT WAS RAISED, REFERRED TO THE DEDICATION AND DETERMINATION OF THE "WONDERFUL YOUNG GENERATION" OF ISRAELI YOUTH, EXPECIALLY RELIGIOUS YOUTH, WHO ARE DETERMINED TO TILL THEIR HISTORIC LANDS; AND ALSO REFERRED TO THE PRESIDENT'S PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT THAT IT WOULD BE EASIER FOR THE U.S. IF EXISTING SETTLEMENTS WERE EXPANDED RATHER THAN NEW ONES BEING ESTABLISHED. BEGIN WENT ON TO SAY THAT QUITE FRANKLY HE COULD HAVE FOLLOWED THE PRACTICE OF PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS BY WINKING AT THE

ILLEGAL SQUATTING BY THE SETTLERS, SINCE HIS GOVERNMENT  
COULD NOT AND WOULD NOT EVER FORCIBLY REMOVE ILLEGAL  
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SETTLERS. IF THEY WERE TO DO SO HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD  
NOT SURVIVE. BUT HE SAID HE DID NOT WANT TO FOLLOW  
SUCH DEVIOUS TACTICS; THAT HE WANTED TO BE PERFECTLY  
STRAIGHT FORWARD AND HONEST ON ALL MATTERS WITH US.  
THEREFORE HE HOPED THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD UNDERSTAND  
THE MOTIVES AND NECESSITY FOR HIS ACTIONS. HE FELT  
CONFIDENT THAT HE WOULD UNDERSTAND, SINCE PRESIDENT  
CARTER HAD ALREADY ACKNOWLEDGED PUBLICLY BEGIN'S  
ELECTORAL COMMITMENT ON THIS SETTLEMENT ISSUE. THERE  
WERE ONLY A FEW FAMILIES WHO WOULD BE INVOLVED. "WHAT  
WE ASK FOR IS NOT YOUR BLESSING BUT YOUR UNDERSTANDING.  
NOW YOU KNOW WHAT WE INTEND TO DO. PLEASE TALK TO  
PRESIDENT CARTER AND EXPLAIN OUR POSITION."

7. I ASSURED HIM I WOULD TALK TO THE PRESIDENT AS SOON  
AS I RETURN. BUT I SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT ALREADY  
UNDERSTANDS THIS PROBLEM BUT IS  
DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT ANY NEW SETTLEMENTS WILL GREATLY  
COMPLICATE THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS.

8. DAYAN THEN INTERJECTED THAT HE KNEW HE WAS  
SPEAKING FOR THE PRIME MINISTER IN AGAIN SAYING THAT  
NO ISRAELI SETTLEMENT WILL BE AN OBSTACLE TO ANY PEACE  
AGREEMENT. IF AN AGREEMENT IS NEGOTIATED WHICH  
ESTABLISHES WITHDRAWAL TO A CERTAIN LINE WHICH LEAVES  
OUTSIDE THAT LINE A SETTLEMENT, THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT  
WILL MOVE SUCH A SETTLEMENT. HE REPEATED THIS FLAT  
ASSURANCE. HE THEN WENT ON TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT HE,  
DAYAN, WOULD NOT HAVE JOINED ANY GOVERNMENT WHICH  
PROHIBITED SETTLEMENT IN THE HISTORIAL AREAS OF JUDEA  
AND SAMARIA. (BEGIN INTERJECTED TO SAY "AND I WOULD  
NOT HAVE FORMED SUCH A GOVERNMENT.") DAYAN THEN  
SAID THAT THERE HAD NEVER BEEN AN ISRAELI GOVERNMENT  
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WHICH DID NOT AUTHORIZE NEW SETTLEMENTS, THAT THE  
ONGOING SETTLEMENT PROCESS OF THE LAND IS AND WILL  
REMAIN A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE FOR THE JEWISH STATE.

9. DAYAN CONCLUDED THIS DISCUSSION BY ARGUING THAT  
IN HIS VIEW THE ARAB REACTION TO THE SORT OF CARE-  
FULLY LIMITED SETTLEMENT PLAN THEY HAVE IN MIND WILL

NOT BE ANYTHING LIKE THAT WHICH WE HAVE PREDICTED.  
HE INSISTED THAT THE MAJOR ISSUE FOR THE ARABS IS  
THE TAKING OF NEW LANDS FROM ARAB HANDS, AND THAT NO  
SUCH THING WOULD BE OCCURRING. WE LEFT THE ISSUE  
AT THIS POINT WITH MY PROMISING TO TAKE IT UP AGAIN  
WITH THE PRESIDENT, BUT LEAVING NO DOUBT THAT WE WOULD  
CONTINUE TO BE EXTREMELY CONCERNED SHOULD NEW SETTLE-  
MENTS OCCUR.  
UNQUOTE  
END THIS PORTION OF TEXT

NOTE FROM EMBASSY TEL AVIV:  
REMAINING SEVEN PARAGRAPHS OF MESSAGE PERTAIN TO  
CONVERSATION ON SOUTH LEBANON AND ETHIOPIA.  
IN THE INTEREST OF EXPEDIENCY, WE HAVE CHOSEN NOT TO REPEAT  
THE REMAINING PORTION OF THE MESSAGE.  
LEWIS

SECRET

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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
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**TAGS:** OVIP, PSDC, PBOR, PDEV, US, IS, LE, XF, (VANCE, CYRUS)  
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**Type:** TE  
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